

(67)

15 August 1974

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: Anti-Americanism in Greece

1. Anti-American sentiment in Greece has become widespread since the Turkish invasion of Cyprus and appears to be growing in direct proportion to Greek and Greek Cypriot setbacks on the battlefield and at the conference table. This feeling is reportedly shared not only by traditionally anti-American leftist circles, but also by normally pro-American right and center-right politicians and military men.

2. The anti-Americanism primarily stems from the Greek belief that the US abandoned Greece in its hour of need and "tilted" toward the Turks. The belief has been nurtured by the Greek press, by American press accounts, and by favorable references to the US role by Turkish leaders. Greeks tend to believe that the "American factor" is the principal determinant of events in the area. Many are probably convinced that the US could have deterred the Turkish invasion and even now has the power to stop the fighting and secure an equitable settlement. Its failure to do so leads them to believe there is some kind of nefarious deal between Washington and Ankara, perhaps a pledge of indirect US support for Turkey in exchange for a reimposition of the poppy growing ban.

3. A less immediate but still significant contributor to anti-American sentiment is the widely held belief that the military regimes which ruled Greece between 1967 and July of this year were imposed and supported by the US, a belief that is being cultivated by the Greek press and fed by similar comments in US newspapers.

4. The first significant official manifestation of anti-Americanism is Greece's withdrawal from the military aspects of NATO, which Greek Minister of Public Order Gikas

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described as the first "indirect slap" at the allies and "particularly the United States." The decision appears to have been well received by the people and the military.

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For the time being, however, it does not appear that bilateral arrangements outside the NATO framework, such as homeporting, will be affected. Athens is expecting additional confrontations with Ankara over the Aegean and would probably want to secure US backing for its position.

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5. On the non-governmental level, anti-Americanism has thus far been limited to newspaper editorials and one sizeable demonstration involving some 1,000 students. The government-controlled radio and television networks reportedly have not engaged in this campaign, suggesting it does not have official sanction at this point.

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6. Anti-Americanism is also likely to result in leftist gains at the polls should the Karamanlis government hold elections as promised. The 24 percent vote the left garnered in 1958 -- the highest it has ever received -- was attributed in part to public disenchantment with the West over Cyprus.

7. Anti-American feelings are likely to continue and to increase in direct proportion to Greek frustration over Cyprus unless Turkey eventually agrees to significant concessions attributable directly to US pressure. In the meantime, Greece probably will look to Europe, and particularly to Britain and France, for support and not to the East.

8. Even if the US proves unwilling or unable to wrest enough concessions from Turkey to placate the Greeks, American influence and prestige could probably be at least partially restored if the US supports Athens in the ongoing controversy over exploration rights in the Aegean -- a dispute which is sure to re-emerge once the Cyprus crisis eases.

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